Inaugural UniSA Nelson Mandela Lecture

A Vision of a World Where Benefits Accrue to All

Dr Musimbi Kanyoro
Director, Population Program: Packard Foundation, USA

Tuesday 14 October
UniSA Hawke Building – Allan Scott Auditorium

Series jointly presented by the University of South Australia Law School and The Bob Hawke Prime Ministerial Centre

---

Distinguished community of the University, invited Guests,
Ladies and gentlemen,

I am extremely delighted to be associated with the prestigious School of Law and the Bob Hawke Prime Ministerial Centre at the University of South Australia.

I would like to thank Professor Paul Fairall, Foundation Dean of Law, and Ms. Elizabeth Ho, Director of the Bob Hawke Prime Ministerial Centre for inviting me to this occasion. I am honored to be the inaugural speaker for the Nelson Mandela Lecture series.

Nelson Mandela commands global attention. He is respected by millions of people as an ethical leader. He is a man of principle.
He has transformed lives and impacted the cause of history.

I arrived here via South Africa, where among other things I was privileged to tour Robben Island on Wednesday 8th of October and specifically to visit the cell where Mandela spent several years in detention. One of our guides was a former prisoner on the Island and the other was a former jailor. Today they work together because of the vision passed on to them by Mr. Mandela. They refuse to be victims of anger, revenge or fear. Instead, they sincerely believe that their freedom and liberation are intertwined. In working side by side, they learn to trust each other. In his autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom,* Nelson Mandela wrote*:*

Contact:
Louise Carnell
The Bob Hawke Prime Ministerial Centre
T: 08 8302 0371 E: louise.carnell@unisa.edu.au

Inaugural UniSA Nelson Mandela Lecture

> "No one is born hating another person because of the colour of his skin, or his background, or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite."

I believe that the best way to celebrate Mandela is to embrace his concept of reconciliation. Today people are looking for leaders of Mr. Mandela's stature to provide ethical leadership to the challenges we face in our world. And indeed we are a world in trouble.

The crash on Wall Street has strengthened fears of a global recession. Despite a $700 million bailout, markets continue to plummet. The financial crisis has spread across world proving to us once more that we are indeed one world- a globalised world.

The financial crisis highlights the nature of globalization. An event on one side of the globe has effects on the other. We are connected as never before.

And yet we are also divided. There are great gaps between the powerful and powerless. Globalization is not innocuous or uniform. It is selective and uneven with boundaries falling while others are fortified. Its impact is felt in innumerable ways by various groups of people in different regions of the world.

At a time of unparalleled prosperity for some, 54 countries are poorer now than they were a decade ago. In 14 countries, more children are dying before their fifth birthday. In 21 countries, more people are going hungry. In 34 countries, life expectancy has fallen during the past decade.

Worldwide, the number of people living in chronic poverty has not changed for more than ten years. And the ones who are bearing the largest brunt are women and children. Last week, the township community of Gugulethu, near Cape Town, South Africa, shocked us when they told us that the poverty they are experiencing is worse than apartheid..

Millions of people living in poverty are denied access to even the most basic health services, adequate housing and food. Over a billion people have no access to clean water and sanitation. Every day 6,000 girls and boys die from diseases linked to unsafe water, inadequate health and poor hygiene. In many places, climate change is compounding these socio-economic challenges and further impeding the fulfillment of human rights for the poor.

Contact:
Louise Carnell
The Bob Hawke Prime Ministerial Centre
T: 08 8302 0371 E: louise.carnell@unisa.edu.au

Inaugural UniSA Nelson Mandela Lecture

Today, the world remains marked by divisions and gripped by fear. The real and perceived threat of terrorism continues to preoccupy governments, communities and households.

Civilians, including relief workers and journalists, are increasingly the target of violent attacks. And we are forced to ask: Who will protect the protectors?

Today some 35 million people caught in armed conflict have been displaced from their homes and communities. We need only to consider the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo, which alone has claimed more lives than any conflict since the end of World War II. An estimated five million people have died in the DRC since 1996, many by starvation or preventable diseases. Women, in particular, have suffered indescribable violence and indignity.

Gender-based and sexual violence has become a routine weapon of war, and the statistics stagger the imagination: according to the UN, in 2006 more than 27,000 cases of rape and sexual violence were registered in the province of South Kivu alone. It is difficult to comprehend the impact of this horrific violence on the lives of the women and girls affected, and destruction it wreaks on the social fabric of their communities.

In Darfur, the conflict that started five years ago continues to rage and has spread to neighboring Chad, as hundreds of thousands of refugees struggle to escape unspeakable brutality.

You definitely heard of the post elections unrest in Kenya last December. Zimbabwe is not the last country of political unrest either, even though it has Z in its name.

No one can deny any longer that turmoil in one region can spread rapidly to other regions as demonstrated by the rapid collapse of US banks which are now in the process of causing a domino effect in global economy across all borders.

And the challenges are many —from terrorism to armed conflict, from environmental degradation to disease and from organized crime to economic migration.

Yet while the global nature of the challenges is evident, we seem further apart in finding global solutions where the burdens and responsibilities are shared.

I know that most of us are concerned about the financial crisis that is rippling through the world markets. We each wonder and ask what does it mean to me and my family? We begin to fear whether all our efforts to save for retirement will be turned into a nightmare. And what does it mean for our world at large?

Contact:
Louise Carnell
The Bob Hawke Prime Ministerial Centre
T: 08 8302 0371 E: louise.carnell@unisa.edu.au

Inaugural UniSA Nelson Mandela Lecture

Some analysts are comparing its impact to the crisis we experienced on 9-11. They say the world will never be the same.

And we wonder how did we reach this point? What caused this crisis?

Conventional wisdom points to the failure of the regulatory markets, particularly in the United States, to mitigate risk and greed on the part of individuals and financial firms. To some, it is not surprising that the unprecedented profits of the wealthy are now coming to an end but no matter how much we resent the greedy actions of the few, we are now all victims of consequences.

During a recent Clinton Global Initiative the former President Clinton shared his unconventional view on the financial crisis:

"The biggest problem in the US was that there was too much money going into one place—into the housing market. People were blind to other opportunities. If we had been investing in our poor communities, in new clean energy technologies, in solar power, in wind power, in new partnerships with other nations – it would have been a different world out there right now. This is not simply a regulatory failure; this is a failure of us in imagining our future, in imagining our real economic future."

I think President Clinton has a point—our ideas of assets and economic opportunities are too constrained—they do not see the possible in poor communities. They do not see what is possible when we join together for opportunity in non-traditional places. It is not uncommon for example to see most of the continent of Africa excluded from economic maps of the world.

Yet hope lies in seizing opportunity to effect change. Even in the poorest communities have potential and it often in them and through them that true entrepreneurship exits waiting to be tapped. A globally recognized reminder of this truth is the story of the Graemeen Bank and its founder Muhammad Yunus. Through microcredit, he has helped lift 100 million people out of poverty and won the Nobel Peace Prize.

And it is worth remembering that when he started, there was no bank that would lend to the poor because they were considered a high-risk bad investment. This did not stop Mr. Yunus. In response, he started a new bank, the Grameen Bank, to invest in the poor. And he found that not only did poor people, especially women, pay back their loans but they also worked their way out of poverty and created better lives for themselves and their families.

Contact:
Louise Carnell
The Bob Hawke Prime Ministerial Centre
T: 08 8302 0371 E: louise.carnell@unisa.edu.au

Inaugural UniSA Nelson Mandela Lecture

The story of Grameen Bank has a happy ending, unlike the story of the financial crisis and the demise of Wall Street giants like Lehman Brothers, and it holds many lessons.

We have an important lesson in this example. Ultimately we must look for solutions of our world problems with the people who live those issues. If rich countries want to address poverty then they have to do it by supporting the priorities of poor countries.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) state that the central challenge that the community of nations face today is to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for all the world's people. It recognizes that globalization offers great opportunities but its potential for success depends on whether those opportunities are accessible to ordinary peoples.

It is time that the world's powerful listened to alternative voices including those from the margins. Listening and acting with those who live in vulnerable conditions is the essence of "Ethical Globalization" which is the subject I want to talk about today. What do we mean when we put those two seemingly contradictory words together—"ethical" and "globalization"?

Let me explain.

Ethical Globalization acknowledges shared responsibilities for addressing global challenges and affirms that our common humanity doesn't stop at national borders.

It recognizes that all individuals are equal in dignity and have the right to certain entitlements, rather than viewing them as objects of benevolence or charity.

It embraces the importance of gender and the need for attention to the often different impacts of economic and social policies on women and men.

It affirms that a world connected by technology and trade must also be connected by shared values, norms of behavior and systems of accountability.

Ethical globalization requires the international community to take human rights beyond their more traditional political and legal realms and apply them across sectors to ensure human dignity.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The notion of Ethical Globalization is especially poignant for me as an African and as a woman because I know the lack of dignity experienced by people whose voices are

Contact:
Louise Carnell
The Bob Hawke Prime Ministerial Centre
T: 08 8302 0371 E: louise.carnell@unisa.edu.au

Inaugural UniSA Nelson Mandela Lecture

marginalized. I have seen NEPAD – new Partnership for Africa's Development become weaker everyday because the World did not rally with African to make this strong. Even though Africa's leaders committed themselves through NEPAD to deliver transparent effective institutions and sound regulatory frameworks,, it was bound to fail because of the doubts that hang over this initiative right from the first day. While in South Africa, one of its midwives, I learnt that it lacked both a financial and intellectual backing both inside Africa and out of Africa.

The intellectual part is very relevant to you here at the University of South Australia. Centers of learning and research and professional bodies owe their skills to enriching budding concepts with philosophies, theories of change and methods of monitoring and evaluation that answer to questions of accountability. You are in a unique position to produce scholars who become activists and government leaders in pursuit of ethical behaviors.

In reading some of the work you are doing at the foundation and at the Hawke centre I know that you hold the torch forming scholars and professional who will encourage collaborations and cooperation so that we get rid of the systems where hooding of power by the might nations and peoples refuses to recognize the global interdependence.

The future can different. Whether in development and investment economics or environment and climate change, I truly believe the way to move forward is by using a human rights framework because it affirms our common humanity and it emphasizes the dignity of all as a starting point. The future can be different, but it must start now.

A future of hope would lift Africa and the poor countries of the world by increasing their basic indicators of health, prosperity, education, and opportunity. In my current work with the David and Lucile Packard Foundation I stuggle with facts such as:

A woman born in Zambia today has an average life expectancy of 40 years, while a woman born here in Australia will likely live twice as long.

The lifetime odds of a woman dying during childbirth are 1 in 18 for a woman in Nigeria, compared to 1 in over 6000 for a woman in the USA. In Sub Saharan Africa, only 17 percent of girls enroll in secondary school.

The differences between rich and poor countries are startling. Consider that the lifetime risk of death from pregnancy-related causes in Canada is around one in 11,000, while in Afghanistan and Sierra Leone the number is one in eight. Even within wealthy countries, the inequities are revealing. When we break the figures down, it is clear that survival

Contact:
Louise Carnell
The Bob Hawke Prime Ministerial Centre
T: 08 8302 0371 E: louise.carnell@unisa.edu.au

rates for pregnant women depend largely upon the distance and time a woman must travel to reach skilled emergency medical care.

According to the United Nations, the factors that increase the risk of maternal death relate to delays in seeking care, for example when a women must get permission from male family members to travel; delays in reaching an emergency care facility due to lack of affordable and available transportation; and delays in receiving care from providers, when facilities lack sufficient staff and equipment, or care is unaffordable.

Maternal mortality rates could be drastically reduced by improving women's access to comprehensive reproductive health services and promoting sexual and reproductive health education.

The statistics reflect gross inequities between rich and poor. For the women affected, they also represent a serious infringement of basic human rights, including the right to life and the highest attainable standard of health. But they mask a much wider societal impact. More than a million children are left motherless every year. Newborns whose mothers die from preventable deaths are three to ten times more likely to die before the age of two than those whose mothers survive. Girls who are orphaned often are pulled out of school to fill the role of caregiver to other family members. This is why UNICEF refers to the 'double dividend' of gender equality, one that benefits women and children both – and, indeed, society at large.

These ongoing global health challenges are even more daunting when we consider the health systems and human resources available to meet them.
Imagine living in a country like Malawi, in which you share your doctor with 50,000 others. According to the World Health Organization, people in 36 African countries live a similarly grim reality.

Africa faces a shortage of 800,000 doctors and nurses, and currently trains only between 10 and 30 percent of the skilled health workers required. Many health professionals trained in low-income countries leave their home in search of better working conditions, often driven by political instability and conflict. They move from poor rural regions to urban centres and from there, migrate to higher-income countries like Australia or Canada. The result is that wealthy countries reap a benefit while poorer countries that provided financing for education and professional training lose a return on their investment.

But there are also deeper societal impacts in many countries, where the net loss of health workers can result in the near-collapse of already fragile health systems. Without

Contact:
Louise Carnell
The Bob Hawke Prime Ministerial Centre
T: 08 8302 0371 E: louise.carnell@unisa.edu.au

Inaugural UniSA Nelson Mandela Lecture

a strong and effective human infrastructure, health systems will never be able to tackle crippling diseases or achieve national and global public health goals.

A great deal more needs to be done towards the realization of the right to health, including new policy efforts to empower women, strengthen health systems, and address the barriers and discrimination women.

By quoting these statics I am not joining those discard those affected and through them in the waste basket. Rather, I want to say that this is unethical in a globalized world.

I have worked for more than 25 years with communities and specifically the marginalized women their communities. These years have been daunting but deeply rewarding for me.

In looking back to the recent years while working with the World YWCA, I saw how for example the promotion of privatization of public services often made it impossible for poor people to send their children to school, secure safe drinking water and access health care. Only a few years ago, we were perplexed on how protection of intellectual properties led directly to a terrible exclusion of essential HIV/AIDS medicines to the developing world and especially to Africa.

We have over and over heard the contradictions between maintaining agricultural subsidies for farmers in rich countries as opposed implementing fair trade policies to benefit the farmers poor of the developing countries. In the World of international trade, hypocrisy is the order of the game.

Developed countries have perfected their art of forcing poor nations' economies to imported industrial goods and services and they have not been willing to reciprocate when it comes poor nations have a possibility if the rules of the game are fair.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Every example of fairness and ethical behavior that that the name Nelson Mandela ask of us requires that we realize that unless the world understands the human and global interdependence we are all bound together to a deprived future which will continue to be defined by inequalities , insecurity, migrations etc.

In many parts of the world, grassroots organizations are working to address these basic inequities day in day out.

Contact:
Louise Carnell
The Bob Hawke Prime Ministerial Centre
T: 08 8302 0371 E: louise.carnell@unisa.edu.au

Inaugural UniSA Nelson Mandela Lecture

In a recent assignment to the Philippines, I was motivated by the work of Likani, a small non-governmental organization that works in an area of Manila where people earn their living by scavenging through the City rubbish heap. My conscience was pricked to the core when I saw a woman whom I will call, Ana, feeding her hungry baby with dirty water and a little coffee powder because she could not afford anything else. She has six children of less than a year difference between them and she herself could hardly walk- overcome by exhaustion, hunger and illness.

I have all through my careers with NGOs encountered so many prototypes of Ana that I know they mirror something gone wrong in our societies. What we learn from individual stories of people we meet everyday has far reaching global implications.

When we gather these individual stories in one place and tell them collectively as human stories, we indeed discover that they require global solutions.

In my own search for answers to the questions raised by extreme poverty, I have been influenced by the faith and actions of many people who believe that we cannot just sit around and think that Ana and her baby are a "fait accompli". The Social Summit Forum a few years ago had as its theme, "Another World is possible" And I believe that Ethical Globalization is the search for this other world.

I serve on many forums with Mary, the former President of Ireland and former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. Mrs. Robinson has immensely influenced my understanding of the concept of Ethical globalization.

Hon. Robinson in her work and life has argued—forcefully—with both head and heart-- for the relevance of the normative framework of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in addressing the challenges of growing inequities in our world. Hon Robinson has popularized the phrase "Ethical Globalization". She invites us to use the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a tool of advocacy for accountability on how we see and run the affairs of the world.

2008 marks the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But what should the anniversary mean for individual, governments, and civil society? Where do we stand on the often controversial subject of business and human rights?

Looking back to 1947 when the Declaration was drafted, the world was reeling from the unprecedented suffering brought about by a devastating war, the first use of nuclear weapons and the horrors of the Holocaust. Fifty-five million people had lost their lives and many more lives were altered forever.

Contact:
Louise Carnell
The Bob Hawke Prime Ministerial Centre
T: 08 8302 0371 E: louise.carnell@unisa.edu.au

Inaugural UniSA Nelson Mandela Lecture

And yet the horror of that war provided the impetus for a new era in international human rights, as people were searching for common threads that would increase human security and bind nations together.

When the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was officially adopted in December 1948, the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed it "as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations".

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Global realities, brutal as they may be, are what make respect for the rule of law and human rights so crucial. The reality underscores the intrinsic link between civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, for it is often systematic discrimination and inequality in access to land, water or food, health care, education or housing, which lie at the root of social tensions and conflict. And it is so often women who bear the brunt of this discrimination. It is all those vulnerable people who stand at the center of these issues, and who are at the heart of solutions we must support.

A human rights framework is needed to address the massive inequities related to poverty, which holds its grip on one-fifth of the world's population, the majority of whom are women.

These all are challenges to human security, development and well-being. They are human rights crises which require our urgent attention.

There are valuable lessons to be learned from early efforts to address HIV/AIDS as a human rights issue. One of those key insights is the importance, in very practical terms, of recognizing health as a human right; a right possessed in equal measure by the world's wealthiest and it's poorest, by its most advantaged and it's most marginalized and dispossessed.

A human rights analysis has informed and strengthened public health responses by highlighting the discrimination and inequalities that fuel the spread of HIV. The recognition of access to life-saving treatment as a right has played a key role in scaling up access to antiretrovirals – and about 2.5 million people are now accessing ARVs, up from around 100,000 in 2001.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me be clear: I am not suggesting that human rights and women's rights will provide the solution to these massive and complex challenges. But human rights can, and must,

Contact:
Louise Carnell
The Bob Hawke Prime Ministerial Centre
T: 08 8302 0371 E: louise.carnell@unisa.edu.au

be the compass that provides the moral, ethical and legal guidance to effective responses at every level. By placing individuals and communities at the centre of health systems, focusing attention on marginalized and vulnerable populations, and holding governments and other actors to account, human rights provide a powerful standard by which to ensure the development and implementation of equitable health policies, strategies and systems.

Although the problems are daunting, the elements of a human rights response are straightforward and the potential for positive change is enormous. The challenge lies in galvanizing the resources and political will to ensure that the principles that underpin the right to health are met in practice.

Here, I will highlight just a few things we can do. Participation and empowerment are central to the right to health. Individuals and communities must be engaged and involved in health policy decisions that affect them.

Tanzania is one example of where such engagement is happening. There, thanks to donor support, a network of health organizations is examining the extent to which increases in health sector resources are benefiting marginalised groups. This has allowed the network to undertake research, gather evidence and carry out analysis to support their policy positions on the health service needs of the poorest and most vulnerable.

A second element involves priorities: there must be a profound shift in the priorities that shape policies and resource allocations globally, nationally and locally. For example, health systems must be sufficiently resourced to respond to the health needs of women and girls through long-term, sustained investment. Support for the research, development and equitable distribution of technologies to benefit women's health must be prioritized.

Third, human rights are about accountability, not charity. Individuals should expect that their governments will be accountable for policy decisions that have an impact on human rights, including the right to the highest attainable standard of health. This means that States must adopt and implement laws and policies that strengthen health systems, foster gender equality and improve women's health.

And finally, human rights are everyone's responsibility. The Universal Declaration states that "every individual and organ of society ... shall strive ... to promote respect for these rights ... and by progressive measures ... secure their universal and effective recognition and observance". While human rights are primarily the responsibility of government, their

Contact:
Louise Carnell
The Bob Hawke Prime Ministerial Centre
T: 08 8302 0371 E: louise.carnell@unisa.edu.au

fulfillment depends upon the actions of individuals and communities, the private sector, international organizations and religious leaders.

As the great leader Nelson Mandela said, “We must use time wisely and forever realize that the time is always ripe to do right.” Our time is now.

Thank you.

Contact:
Louise Carnell
The Bob Hawke Prime Ministerial Centre
T: 08 8302 0371 E: louise.carnell@unisa.edu.au